

Message Text

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S E C R E T NICOSIA 3185

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR CY GR TU

SUBJ: CONVERSATIONS WITH TURKISH AMBASSADOR INHAN

1. SUMMARY: TURKISH AMBASSADOR INHAN IS TAKING A VERY HARD LINE. TURKEY HAS CONCESSIONS TO MAKE IN FINAL SETTLEMENT BUT IT WILL NOT GRANT THESE PIECEMEAL TO MAKE LIFE EASIER FOR GREEKS. GREEKS NEED TIME TO SUFFER UNTIL THEY COME TO ACCEPT THE NEW REALITY IN CYPRUS. NEVERTHELESS, TURKEY ADMIRES CLERIES FOR HIS BRAVERY AND WILL COOPERATE WITHIN BOUNDS TO KEEP NICOSIA NEGOTIATIONS GOING. END SUMMARY.

2. SINCE ARRIVAL I HAVE HAD TWO CONVERSATIONS WITH TURKISH AMBASSADOR ASAF INHAN. HE IS FEELING VERY CHAUVINISTIC AND TAKING A HARD LINE. AMONG HIS COMMENTS (LATEST CONVERSATION WAS SEPTEMBER 19) WERE FOLLOWING:

A. PRESSURES ON TURKEY'S AMBASSADOR IN NICOSIA ARE ENORMOUS. VISITORS AND TECHNICAL MISSIONS FROM
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TURKEY ARE LIKE "ANTS" IN EVERY CONCEIVABLE FIELD:

WATER, ELECTRICITY, AGRICULTURE, TOURISM, COMMUNICATIONS, POSTS, CUSTOMS. IN ADDITION, TURKISH EMBASSY IS BESIEGED BY COMPLAINTS FROM DIPLOMATS AND FOREIGN RESIDENTS ALLEGING DESTRUCTION OF PERSONAL PROPERTY BY TURKISH TROOPS. WAR IS WAR, BUT COMPLAINANTS SHOULD REALIZE THAT DAMAGE WROUGHT WAS AS OFTEN BY GREEKS AS TURKS.

B. MILITARILY, "WE HAVE STOPPED" UNLESS PROVOKED. "WE HAVE ENOUGH AND PERHAPS MORE THAN WE NEED."

C. TURKEY'S MILITARY ACTION HAS REVERSED SITUATION ON ISLAND. FOR 20 YEARS, GREEKS HAD BEEN IN CONTROL AND TURKS WERE THE PERSECUTED MINORITY WITH THE REFUGEE PROBLEMS. GREEKS GAVE NOTHING AND NO ONE SERIOUSLY ASKED THEM TO. NO ONE CARED ABOUT TURKISH REFUGEES. NOW TURKEY IS IN CONTROL AND IT IS ASKED TO BE MAGNANIMOUS AND GRANT CONCESSIONS. IN CONTEXT OF A SOLUTION, IT CAN. BUT CONCESSIONS WILL NOT BE PIECEMEAL. GREEKS BOTH IN CYPRUS AND GREECE HAVE YET TO ACCEPT THE NEW REALITY IN CYPRUS. ADMITTEDLY, THERE IS A LARGE REFUGEE PROBLEM AND THEY ARE SUFFERING. THIS IS GOOD AND THE SUFFERING WILL CONTINUE UNTIL THEY SEE THAT TURKEY HAS ACTED TO GET THE CYPRUS PROBLEM OFF ITS BACK ONCE AND FOR ALL, THAT TURKISH CYPRIOTS MUST BE ABLE LIVE IN SAFETY AND THAT THERE WILL BE NO CONCESSIONS UNTIL TURKISH CYPRIOTS ARE ABLE LIVE ON SAME ISLAND AS GREEK CYPRIOTS WITH FORMER HAVING A SECURE ZONE OF THEIR OWN WITHIN A FEDERAL SYSTEM. BY VIRTUE OF TURKEY'S MILITARY ACTION, TURKISH CYPRIOTS NOW HAVE SECURITY. THIS WILL NOT BE GIVEN UP IN NEGOTIATION.

D. TURKEY'S GOAL IS FOR AN INDEPENDENT CYPRUS. FOR REASONS OF NATIONAL POLICY, IT DOES NOT WANT TO ANNEX NORTHERN ZONE.

E. ATHENS HAS NOT GRASPED THE NETTLE OF THE NEW FACTS IN CYPRUS. ATTITUDE OF GOG VERY SUSPICIOUS, E.G. THE MAVROS-MAKARIOS AXIS AND KARAMANLIS' HESITANCY GIVE FULL PUBLIC SUPPORT TO CLERIDES. LATTER IS A
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BRAVE MAN AND THE BEST GREEK CYPRIOT WITH WHOM TO NEGOTIATE. BUT HE HAS NO POLITICAL SUPPORT. EVEN HE APPARENTLY FAILS TO ACCEPT REALITY, WITNESS ABSURDITY OF HIS PROPOSAL IN NEGOTIATION FOR EXTENSIVE TURKISH MILITARY PULLBACK AND RETURN OF GREEK REFUGEES IN SUCH NUMBERS AS TO CONSTITUTE A GREEK MAJORITY IN TURKISH ZONE.

3. INHAN ASKED FOR MY VIEW OF CURRENT SITUATION. I

DESCRIBED IT ALONG SAME LINES AS EARLIER WITH DENKTASH (NICOSIA 3069). CLERIDES' POSITION IS NOT STRONG AND MAY BE DETERIORATING. WE SUPPORT NICOSIA NEGOTIATION WHICH NEEDS TO BE PROTECTED. TURKEY MAY SHORTLY FACE A CROSSROAD IN WHICH IT CAN EITHER HELP TO KEEP CLERIDES IN THE GAME OR FIND HIM GONE. IF HE GOES, SITUATION WILL PLAY INTO HANDS OF MAKARIOS AND OTHERS. ON THE GREEK CYPRIOT SIDE THERE IS MOUNTING ADVOCACY OF NO SOLUTION RATHER THAN SIGNING ONTO HUMILIATION. THIS DIG-IN-FOR-A-LONG-BATTLE APPROACH COULD MEAN INDEFINITE TROUBLE FOR TURKEY WHOSE ARMY WOULD BE PINNED DOWN FIGHTING GUERRILLAS. THIS LIKELY TO BE TRUE EVEN IF IT OCCUPIED ENTIRE ISLAND.

4. CONCLUDING, INHAN AND I AGREED THAT MOST PRESSING POLITICAL IMPERATIVE FOR CLERIDES IS MOVEMENT ON RETURN OF SOME GREEK CYPRIOT REFUGEES. NOTEING THAT TURKEY PRESSING VERY HARD FOR TRANSFER NORTH OF REFUGEES SOVEREIGN BASE AREAS AND FROM THE PICKETS IN SOUTH, I SUGGESTED TURKEY SUPPORT WITHIN THE NEGOTIATIONS SOME FORMULA ON PARTIAL RETURN WHICH WOULD HELP CLERIDES AS WELL AS ADVANCE TURKISH OBJECTIVES.

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